

S E C R E T

11 November 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Major Ukrainian Emigre Political Organizations Worldwide, and in the United States

DATE OF INFORMATION: 1971, with 1976 update.

1. Introduction: At the beginning of the 1970's the Ukrainian political spectrum had many features of the prewar Ukrainian political groupings. The decisive political role was played by three factions of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists): OUN/B (Bandera), OUN/M (Melnyk) and OUNz (za kordonom - abroad). The first one was the largest but had few followers with an intellectual background. The centrist parties were represented by URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) and UNDS (Ukrainian National State Union). The left wing was composed of the USP (Ukrainian Socialist Party), the right wing by the monarchist SHD (Union of Hetmanite Patriots) and by SVU (Alliance for the Liberation of Ukraine).

The OUN/M, OUNz, UNDO, UNDS and USP were members of the Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada (Ukrainian National Council). The Executive Organ of the UN Rada was viewed by the adherents of the Rada as a government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) which existed in Ukraine from 1917 to 1920. The Ukrainian word "rada" is the equivalent of the Russian "soviet" or council.

A. Major Ukrainian Emigre Political Organizations in 1971:

OUN/B

OUN/B - Orhanizatsiya Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv - Banderivtsi (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Bandera Group) has its headquarters in Munich, home of its president, Yaroslav Stetsko, who is also president of the ABN (see below). Headquarters of both organizations are located at Zeppelin Str. 67.

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SOURCES METHODSEXEMPTION 3B2B

NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT

DATE 2007

E2 IMPDET
CL BY C

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

2

Other principal officers in Munich are Ivan Kashuba, Stepan Lenkavskyy, Stepan Mudryk; Osyp Tiushka in Innsbruck, Austria; Hryhory Drabat and Wasyl Oleskiv in London; Wolodymyr Kosyk and Borys Witoshynskyy in Paris; Roman Malashchuk and Wasyl Bezkhlibnyk in Toronto; Mykhaylo Shegedyn in Melbourne, Australia. OUN/B is affiliated with such civic organizations as Orhanizatsia Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy (OOChSU - Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine) in the USA or Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (LVU - The League for Liberation of Ukraine) in Canada. The leaders of OUN/B and OOChSU in the USA are Stepan Halamay, Lev Futala, Ivan Vynnyk, Ivan Vovchuk. The leader of the OUN/B in Canada, R. Malashchuk, is president of the LVU.

The OUN/B has following publications: Shlakh Peremohy (Path To Victory), a weekly, Munich, Zeppelin St. 67, Vyzvolnyy Shlakh (Liberation Path), a monthly magazine published in London and the Ukrainian Review also in London at 200 Liverpool Rd; Homin Ukrainy (Echo from Ukraine), a weekly in Toronto, at 140 Bathurst Street; Visnyk (The Herald), a monthly in New York.

OUN/B is the originator and a decisive factor of the Antybolshevytskyy Blok Narodiv (ABN - Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) which includes representatives of various non-Russian emigre organizations. In the USA the activities of the ABN are conducted by Pryateli ABN (PABNA - Friends of the ABN in America). Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi (SUM - Association of Ukrainian Youth) with branches in several Western countries is also affiliated with the OUN/B.

OUN/M

OUN/M - OUN - Melnykivtsi (Melnyk group), has its headquarters in Paris, where its leader Oleh Shtul-Zhdanovych lives. Other principal officers of the OUN/M are: Arkadyy Zhukovskyy in Paris; Dmytro Andrievskyy, Yakiv Makovetsky, Antin Melnyk, Ivan Zheguts in Munich; Hryhory Kostiuik in London; Yaroslav Haywas in Newark, N.J., Zenon Horodyskyy in Trenton, N.J., Osyp Zinkewych in Baltimore, Zynowij Knysh in Toronto, Mykola Plawiuk in Ancaster, Ont., Marko Antonowych in Montreal, Bohdan Bociurkiw in Ottawa. The official publication of the OUN/M is Ukrainske Slovo (Ukrainian Word), Paris, 6 rue du Sabot.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

3

The semi-official Novyy Shlakh (New Pathway) is published in Winnipeg, Canada, and Smoloskyp (Torch) in Baltimore, Md. Affiliated with the OUN/M are Orhanizatsia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzenniya Ukrainy (ODWU - Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) in the USA, Ukrainske Natsionalne Obyednanhiya (UNO - Ukrainian National Alliance) in Canada, and Ukrainska Natsionalna Yednist (UNYe - Ukrainian National Union) in France.

OUNz

OUNz - OUN-Za kordonom (abroad), has its headquarters in Munich at Dachauerstr. 9. Principal officers are Bohdan Kordiuk (chairman), Daria Rebet, Ivan Chornij, Iryna Kozak in Munich; Swiatoslaw Vasylo in Nottingham, England, Volodymyr Vashkovych in Manchester, Oleksander Kowalysko in Bradford, Roman Ilnytzyk, Anatol Kaminsky, Roman Borkowsky in New York, Vasylyl Markus in Chicago, Bohdan Pidhaynyy, Karolo Mykytchuk in Toronto, Canada. The official monthly of the OUNz is Ukrainskyy Samostijnyk (Ukrainian Independent), published in Munich.

OUNz is affiliated with ZP/UHVR (see below).

ZP/UHVR

ZP/UHVR - Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrain's'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvolnoyi Rady - (Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) was established in Ukraine in 1944 as the political leadership of the UPA - Ukrainska Povstanska Armia (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

The ZP/UHVR president is Rev. Ivan Hryniokh, residing in Munich. Other principal officers are Joseph Beran in Bern, Switzerland, Kyrylo Mytrowych in Paris, Swiatoslaw Vasylo in Nottingham, England, Bohdan Czajkiwskyj, Roman Ilnytzyk, Anatol Kaminsky, Mykola Lebed, Myroslaw Prokop in New York, Pawlo Turula in Chicago, Mykhaylo Marunchak in Winnipeg, Myroslaw Maleckij in Toronto, Bohdan Halajczuk in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Myroslaw Boluch in Glenroy, Vic., Australia. ZP/UHVR published Suchasnist (Contemporary), a monthly in Munich.

OUNz and ZP/UHVR are affiliated with two civic organizations: Obyednannia Prykhylnykov Vyzvolnoyi Borotby (OPWB - Association for Free Ukraine) in the USA and Ukrainsko-Kanadijske Towarystwo (Ukrainian-Canadian Society) in Canada, which have branches in various cities in both countries, as well as with Obyednannia

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

4

Kolyshnykh Voyakiv UPA (Association of Former Members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army - UPA) in the USA and Canada. In recent years many student groups and intellectuals have established close ties with ZP/UHVR and OUNz.

URDP

URDP - Ukrainska Revolutsijno Demokratychna Partiya (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party) has its headquarters in Munich, W. Germany. It is headed by Wasyl Hryshko, who presently resides in Munich. Other leaders of the URDP are: Fedir Hayenko, Mykhaylo Romashko, Ivan Tarasiuk in Munich, Vitaly Bender in Reading, England and Mykola Stepanenko in Washington, D.C. In 1970 a split occurred in the party and a faction led by Mykola Stepanenko organized another group under the same name, challenging Hryshko's leadership. Stepanenko is Vice President of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) in exile. The majority of members have so far remained loyal to Hryshko, however Stepanenko enjoys support of Mykola Lewytsky, President of the UNR in exile.

The URDP publishes Ukrainsky Wisti (The Ukrainian News), a weekly in Neu Ulm, W. Germany and a monthly magazine Novi Dni (The New Days) in Toronto.

URDP is affiliated with three civic organizations: Orhanizatsia Ukraintsiv Revolutsiyno-Demokratychnykh Perekonan (OURDP - Organization of Ukrainians of Revolutionary Democratic Convictions) in the USA, Demokratyчне Obyednannia Ukraintsiv Represovanykh Sovietamy (DOBRUS - Democratic Union of The Ukrainians Persecuted by the Soviets) in the USA and Canada, Orhanizatsia Ukrainskoyi Demokratychnoyi Molodi (ODUM - Organization of Ukrainian Democratic Youth) in the USA and Canada.

UNDO

UNDO - Ukrainske Natsionalno-Demokratyчне Obyednannia (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) is composed of members of the older generation. It was set up in the Western Ukraine in the 1920's under Polish occupation. It ceased to exist at the beginning of the World War II and resumed its activities after

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

5

the war. The chairman of the UNDO is Lubomyr Makarushka in Bonn. Other principal officers are: Mykhaylo Dobrianskyy in Munich, Wasyl Fedoronchuk in Rome, Dmytro Kuzyk in Trenton, N.J., Dmytrol Esterniuk in Rochester, N.Y., and Oleksander Yavorskyy in Toronto. Disagreements within the party caused a split in 1970. A faction led by Esterniuk and Fedoronchuk is supported in the UN Rada by Mykola Lewytskyy. The UNDO under L. Makarushka, the URDP under Hryshko and the OUNz are presently in opposition to the leadership of UN Rada and to Mykola Lewytskyy.

USP

USP - Ukrainska Sotsialistychna Partiya (Ukrainian Socialist Party) has no followers of the younger generation and is rent by internal disagreements. Its principal officers are: Stepan Ripeckyy (chairman) residing in Brooklyn, N.Y., Ivan Palyvoda in Bound Brook, N.J., Spyrydon Dowhal, Panas Fedenko, Ivan Luchyshyn in Munich, W. Germany.

UNDS

UNDS - Ukrainskyy Natsionalno-Derzhavnyy Soyuz (Ukrainian National State Union) has its headquarters in Munich, Dachauerstr. 9. It was established after the second World War in West Germany by Ukrainian emigres of the middle or older generation from Eastern Ukraine. The principal officers of the UNDS are Mykola Liwytskyy (chairman), Petro Beley, Ivan Tarasiuk in Munich, Ivan Kramarenko and Petro Samoylviv in New York. They publish a weekly Meta (The Aim), which is also a semi-official spokesman of the UN Rada. Its editor is Myroslaw Styranka.

SHD

SHD - Soyuz Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv (Union of Hetmanite-Patriots) is a monarchist party headed by Miss Elysaveta Skoropadskyy, a daughter of the late Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyy, who ruled in Ukraine from April to November 1918. Principal officers: Bohdan Koval and Dmytro Levchuk in New York, Myron Korolyshyn in Toronto. SHD publishes a weekly newspaper - Batkivshchyna (Fatherland) in Toronto.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

6

SVU

SVU - Spilka Vyzvolennya Ukrainy (Alliance for the Liberation of Ukraine) is based in the USA with branches in Canada, Australia and West Germany. Its members come primarily from Eastern Ukraine. Chairman: Valentyn Kowal, Brooklyn, N.Y. Other officers: Taras Bulba-Borovets, Dmytro Yarko and Oleksa Kalynnyk. SVU's publication is Misia Ukrainy (The Mission of Ukraine), published in Brooklyn, N.Y. The SVU is affiliated with The Americans to Free Captive Nations, Inc., New York, N.Y.

B. 1976 Update of Changes in Major Ukrainian Emigre Political Organizations:

General Observations

No major changes have taken place in the composition of the Ukrainian political parties since 1971 save those caused by the passing away of some of their leaders (simultaneously the rank-and-file membership of the parties shrunk). The decrease of the political activities of those groups can also be attributed to the splits that occurred in 1970 in the URDP and the UNDO whose stronger factions, as well as the OUNz left the UN Rada in 1970. These developments in the political life of the Ukrainians in the West have been compensated by the increase of the activities of younger generation of Ukrainians primarily on behalf of the Ukrainian intellectuals persecuted in the USSR.

OUN/B

While the OUN/B is still headed by Yaroslav Stetsko the day-to-day party work is directed by his wife Slava Stetsko and Stephan Halamay, presently editor-in-chief of Shlakh peremohy in Munich. Formal deputies of Stetsko are Roman Malashchuk from Toronto, Canada and Hryhoriy Drabat from London, England. An ultra right group of the OUN/B members opposing Y. Stetsko leadership publishes a quarterly Klych Natsiyi in Philadelphia, Pa. edited by Myroslaw Rudyy. The most prominent members of the group are Borys Witoshynskyy and Ivan Yarosh.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

7

OUN/M

Oleh Shtul-Zhdanovych, the chairman of the OUN has been ill for a long time. His duties are carried out by his first deputy Denys Kvitkowsky residing in Detroit, USA. Yaroslav Haywas was dropped from the OUN/M leadership in 1973 and is deprived of a powerbase in the party.

OUN/Z

Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk, the official monthly of the OUN/Z ceased its publication as of January 1, 1976.

ZP/UHVR

New members of the ZP/UHVR were elected in 1971, among them Roman Kupchinsky and Marta Skorupsky. Bohdan Halaichuk and Evhen Wretsiona died in 1974 and 1975 respectively.

URDP

URDP is presently headed by Mykhailo Voskobiynyk from Syracuse, N.Y. Vasyl Hryshko of Yonkers, N.Y. is honorary president. Mykola Stepanenko who heads another faction of the URDP resides in Mount Pleasant, Michigan.

UNDO

The stronger faction of the UNDO that broke away from the UN Rada in 1970 is headed by Oleksander Yaworsky from Toronto, Ont. Pavlo Kashynsky is the head of another faction in Munich.

USP

USP is badly split. The party's chairman is Stepan Ripetsky. Spyrndon Dowhal died in 1975.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

8

UNDS

UNDS has Teofil Leontij as its president in Munich. The party's representative in the USA, Ivan Kramarenko died in 1974.

SHD

Following the death of Elysaveta Skoropadska in 1975, the chairman of the SHD, a temporary rada (Council) is in charge of the party.

SVU

The latest copy of the SVU publication appeared in 1975.

2. Major Ukrainian Political, Fraternal and Youth Organizations in the U.S.

A. Introduction: It is estimated that there are approximately 2,000,000 Ukrainians and their descendants in the United States at this time, including approximately 10,000 students. The largest Ukrainian emigre organization in the U.S. is the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc. with approximately 120,000 full dues-paying members, and an additional 10,000 members who pay less and are not considered full members. It is a roof organization uniting some 54 Ukrainian national groups and is organized into 114 local branches.

B. Organizations: The membership figures of these organizations are approximate, particularly those pertaining to the political organizations as many groups consider such statistics of a semi-confidential nature.

(1) Fraternal Organizations:

The Ukrainian National Association (UNA)	88,000 (includes 20,000 young people)
Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (UWA)	15,000
The "Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics	16,000

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

9

The Ukrainian National Aid Association (UNAA)	9,000
 (2) <u>Academic Organizations:</u>	
The Shevchenko Scientific Society	2,000
The Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences	400
 (3) <u>Youth Organizations:</u>	
Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM)	6,000
Plast (Scouts)	3,000
Union of Ukrainian Students of America (SUSTA)	1,000 (240 in NYC area)
Union of Democratic Ukrainian Youth (ODUM)	800
Ukrainian Students Association	200 in NYC area
Union of Academic Youth (Zarevo)	200
Union of Ukrainian Students Named After Mikhnovsky (TUSM)	100
 (4) <u>Political Organizations:</u>	
UNRada (Government - in - Exile) U.S. Branch	2,000 to 3,000
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) also known as OUN/Melnyk	1,000
OUN/Bandera or OUN/Revolutionary (split from OUN/Melnyk in 1940)	5,000
OUN/Dviykari or Foreign Representation/ Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council - ZP/UHVR. This group split from OUN/Bandera in 1948	1,000 to 2,000

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

10

Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP)	1,000
Ukrainian Popular Democratic Party (split from URDP)	100
Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO)	50
Ukrainian Peasant Party	70 to 100
Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (SVU)	50
Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms in the Ukraine (ODFFU) - same group as the OUN/Bandera group	
Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine (ODWU) - same group as the OUN/Melnyk	
Association of Ukrainians in America (UAU) - split off from UCCA in 1968 -- few members	
League for the Liberation of the Ukraine	200
Union of Former Ukrainian Soldiers (?)	300
Union of Hetman Rulers (?)	700
Brotherhood of Former Military of the Ukrainian National Army	500
Ukrainian National Union	100
Union of Ukrainian Federalist Democrats -- (former Vlassovites) -- membership unascertained.	

3. Recent Trends in Ukrainian Emigration

In comparison with the situation in the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's when the Ukrainian political spectrum preserved many features of the prewar Ukrainian political groupings, the second part of the 1970's has brought about substantial changes caused primarily by the natural process of aging and/or the decrease of the political activity. During the last years,

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

11

however, a new phenomenon has emerged in the Ukrainian politics. The wave of repressions in Ukraine in 1972 generated a great interest in the Ukrainian affairs of the younger generation of Ukrainians born and raised in the West. The civil rights movement and the rise of ethnic feelings in various groups in the USA has also stimulated similar development in the community of young Ukrainians.

Of the historical Ukrainian political parties the decisive role is still played by three factions of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), i.e., OUN/B (Banderivtsi), OUN/M (Melnykivtsi) and OUNz (zarokdonom - abroad), the first one being the most numerous but with few followers with intellectual background. OUN/B is closely associated with SUM (Association of Ukrainian Youth) and such civic organizations as e.g. OChSU in the USA (Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine). Similarly OUN/M has its adherents among the members of the UNO (Ukrainian National Unity) in Canada. The members and followers of OUNz are active in the USA in OPVBU (Association for Free Ukraine). OUNz as well as OkVUPA (Association of Former Members of the UPA-Ukrainian Insurgent Army) recognize ZP/UHVR (Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) as their representative political body.

UNRada (Ukrainian National Rada and its Executive Organ, which is viewed by their adherents as a government-in-exile, is composed of UNDS (Ukrainian National State Alliance), USP (Ukrainian Socialist Party), OUN/M, as well as fractions of URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Union) and SP (Peasant Party). UNRada has been substantially weakened by internal frictions and splits.

In 1973-74 an interparty alliance under the name of the Ukrainian Democratic Movement was jointly established by OUNz and fractions of URDP and UNDO. The Movement (UDR) is in the opposition to UNRada.

At the end of the WW II ZP/UHVR and OUN/B succeeded in establishing contacts with the Ukrainian underground and partisan movement in Ukraine. The destruction of the UPA and the underground network by the Soviets in the middle of the 1950's and the appearance of the intellectual ferment in the USSR in the middle of the 1960's generated a great interest in the Ukrainian emigre parties hoping for a national revival in the post-Stalin period.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

12

In the early 1960's successful attempts were made by ZP/UHVR to establish contacts with several leaders of the new movement in Ukraine. One of the most remarkable products of these ties have been samvydav documents written by Ukrainian dissidents and smuggled out of Ukraine for publication abroad. Hundreds of documents (books, pamphlets, appeals, protests, individual and group letters) have been published since by Prolog and Suchasnist, beginning with Vasyl Symonenko's Diary (Suchasnist', Jan. 1965), "On the Trial of Pohruzhal'sky" (Suchasnist, Feb. 1965), Ivan Dzyuba's Internationalism of Russification?, 1968, Valentyn Moroz' "From Beria Reservation" (Suchasnist March, April, May, June 1968) a.o.

OUN/M followed the suit by publishing The Chornovil Papers in 1968 (Smoloskyp Publishers), and subsequently 5 volumes of Ukrainskyj Visnyk. Simultaneously those documents were obtained by ZP/UHVR.

OUN/B has been far less successful in its endeavors to establish contacts with dissidents in Ukraine if judged by the number of samvydav documents obtained in Ukraine and distributed in the West. The same can be said of URDP which in 1968 came into possession of Yu. Braichevsky's essay Vozzyednannian chy pryednannia? (Reunification or Annexation?).

The mass arrests of the Ukrainian dissidents in 1972 have not stopped the samvydav and its flow to the West. The documents have now been primarily authored by persons detained in prisons and concentration camps. They include not only personal grievances but also deal with political, cultural and economic problems of the present-day Ukraine. They gain pretty wide circulation in Ukraine and become even more known to the Ukrainian population when smuggled to the West and subsequently beamed to Ukraine by Western radio stations (Radio Liberty, B.B.C., V.O.A., Vatican Radio a.o.). Simultaneously, as pointed out above, those samvydav documents published by the Ukrainian press in the West stimulate great interest of the Ukrainian community in the events and developments in Ukraine (hundreds of such documents have been distributed by the Press Service of ZP/UHVR).

As previously indicated, the dissent in Ukraine and particularly the arrests of 1972 have been greatly responsible for the stepping-up of the Ukrainian youth activities in the West. At that time younger Ukrainians began organizing themselves into political and semi-political groupings whose main orientation was

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

13

defending political prisoners in the USSR and especially in Ukraine. These groupings which mainly sprang up in the USA and Canada had a political orientation which was left of center. On the whole, these groups were organized into Committees for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners with branches in New York, Toronto, London and Paris. In Toronto, where the political profile was further left, some younger people organized themselves into a "publishing collective" called Meta which produced a non-periodical journal dealing with Ukrainian and East European affairs.

In the USA the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, created at the beginning of 1972, has taken a less ideological role while agitating among left and liberal intelligentsia on matters concerning dissent in Ukraine and in the USSR. This has been adapted by the other defense committees. The Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners in the USA has also succeeded in creating a firm basis for a close cooperation with similar youth and civic organizations of other nationalities, primarily with Jews, Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians, Crimean Tatars, Armenians as well as with Russians.

Activization of younger Ukrainians also influenced the Canadian Ukrainian Students Organization which in the last five years has become markedly more political in its outlook and involved in matters pertaining to the struggle in the USSR. The Toronto based Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz played a very active role in 1973-74 in mobilizing Canadian public opinion around the question of persecution in the USSR. In the USA similar type committees were also active, but with less measure of success, if one were to judge by the articles which appeared in the American press.

S E C R E T